

CIA/OCI/BRIEF 123-75
8 AUGUST 1975

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MIDDLE EAST AFRICA BRIEF 123-75.4

1. INDIA: SIX WEEKS AFTER THE PROCLAIMED STATE OF EMERGENCY IN INDIA, PRIME MINISTER INDIRA GANDHI CONTINUES TO INCREASE HER PERSONAL POWER. SHE HAS CALLED THE EMERGENCY A NECESSARY STEP IN HALTING A TREND TOWARD ANARCHY; OCCASIONALLY, SHE SHEDS LIGHT ON MAJOR CHANGES SHE IS CONTEMPLATING FOR INDIA'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC FUTURE.4

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY, WHICH CAN BE PROLONGED INDEFINITELY, HAS BEEN DESCRIBED BY GOVERNMENT LEADERS AS ONLY TEMPORARY, BUT MOST POLITICAL OBSERVERS EXPECT IT TO RUN WELL INTO 1976 OR BEYOND. GANDHI REFUSES TO SPECULATE ON ITS DURATION, NOR WILL SHE SET A DATE FOR THE NATIONAL ELECTION DUE BY NEXT MARCH. THE EXISTING PARLIAMENT, IN WHICH THE RULING CONGRESS PARTY HAS A LARGE MAJORITY, CAN EXTEND ITS TERM FOR ONE-YEAR PERIODS BY A SIMPLE MAJORITY VOTE.4

IN SPEAKING OF THE FUTURE, GANDHI HAS BEEN DEFINITIVE ON ONLY ONE POINT: "POLITICAL PERMISSIVENESS" AS IT EXISTED BEFORE THE CRACKDOWN WILL NOT BE RESTORED.4

GANDHI IS CONTEMPLATING A MAJOR OVERHAUL OF INDIA'S POLITICAL

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STRUCTURE IN ORDER TO INSTITUTIONALIZE HER GREATER POWERS. OFFICIALS CLOSE TO HER HAVE SAID THAT THE BRITISH PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM INDIA ADOPTED IN 1950 HAS PROVED NOT WELL-SUITED TO INDIA WITH ITS HUGE, DISPARATE, PREDOMINANTLY ILLITERATE POPULATION. GANDHI TOLD PARLIAMENT THAT INDIA HAS TO EVOLVE A POLITICAL SYSTEM IN WHICH THE "RIGHT BALANCE" IS STRUCK BETWEEN FREEDOM AND SOCIAL DISCIPLINE.4

SHE MIGHT TRANSFORM THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT INTO A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY AND ORDER IT TO AMEND THE CONSTITUTION OR DEVISE A NEW ONE. GANDHI HAS FREQUENTLY USED THE AMENDMENT PROCESS TO GET HER WAY, MOST RECENTLY TO PREVENT THE COURTS FROM CHALLENGING THE EMERGENCY. CONGRESS PARTY CONTROL OF MOST STATE GOVERNMENTS MAKES IT RELATIVELY EASY TO SECURE THE REQUIRED APPROVAL OF AT LEAST HALF THE STATE LEGISLATURES.4

SPECULATION HAS IT THAT GANDHI WILL PRESS FOR A STRONG PRESIDENTIAL FORM OF GOVERNMENT-PERHAPS ALONG LINES OF THE FRENCH SYSTEM, WITH HERSELF OF COURSE AS THE FIRST OCCUPANT OF THE OFFICE. UNDER THE EXISTING ARRANGEMENT, THE INDIAN PRESIDENT FUNCTIONS AS A CEREMONIAL FIGURE, BUT HAS VAST UNUSED POWERS THAT GANDHI PROBABLY

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CONSIDERS A LATENT THREAT.4

A ONE-PARTY SYSTEM MAY BE UNDER CONSIDERATION. A PRO-GANDHI NEWSPAPER THAT FREQUENTLY RELEASES POLITICAL TRIAL BALLOONS HAS SUGGESTED AS MUCH.4

IN THE MEANTIME, INTIMIDATION AND REPRESSION WILL BE GANDHI'S CHIEF WEAPONS AGAINST A LEADERLESS AND FLOUNDERING OPPOSITION. ABOUT 19,000 PERSONS, INCLUDING 29 MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT, HAVE BEEN ARRESTED SINCE THE EMERGENCY WAS DECLARED ON JUNE 26—OVER 6,000 OF THEM FOR POLITICAL REASONS. THE REMAINDER HAVE BEEN CHARGED WITH THINGS LIKE SMUGGLING, HOARDING, OR INCOME-TAX EVASION.4

WITH ONLY A FEW EXCEPTIONS, THE COUNTRY HAS BEEN QUIET SINCE GANDHI MADE HER MOVE. ATTEMPTS TO DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT MAY BE MADE ON AUGUST 9, ANNIVERSARY OF A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE BRITISH IN THE COLONIAL ERA, AND ON AUGUST 15, INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE DAY. THE LARGE POLICE AND INTELLIGENCE APPARATUS IS ALERT TO ANY SIGNS OF UNREST, PARTICULARLY IN THE TWO STATES WHERE THE RULING CONGRESS PARTY IS NOT IN CHARGE, TAMIL NADU AND GUJARAT.

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OUTGOING MESSAGE

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GANDHI HAS OUTLINED A 20-POINT PACKAGE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC REFORMS DESIGNED TO RALLY PUBLIC SUPPORT BEHIND HER. THE PROPOSED REFORMS READ LIKE A REPRISE OF THE CONGRESS PARTY PROMISES IN EVERY ELECTION CAMPAIGN SINCE INDEPENDENCE.4

THERE IS SOMETHING FOR EVERYONE: FOR THE RURAL POOR, LAND REFORM, HIGHER WAGES, AND ABOLITION OF BONDED LABOR; FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS, TAX RELIEF; AND FOR THE WEALTHY, LIBERALIZED INVESTMENT POSSIBILITIES AND ASSURANCES ABOUT NATIONALIZATION.4

FEW EXPECT GANDHI TO SUCCEED IN IMPLEMENTING ALL THESE PROMISES. THE PUBLIC MOOD, HOWEVER, IS MORE OPTIMISTIC THAN IT WAS A YEAR AGO, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF AN IMPROVED ECONOMIC OUTLOOK.4

FOOD PRICES HAVE FALLEN SINCE JUNE, AND HIGH-YIELD SEEDS, FERTILIZER, AND ELECTRIC POWER ARE IN GOOD SUPPLY. MOST IMPORTANT, THE SUMMER MONSOON HAS BEEN GOOD, BRINGING THE PROMISE OF A BETTER FALL HARVEST THAN IN 1974.4

SOME INDIANS HOPE THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S EXPANDED POWERS WILL AID IN REVIVING THE ECONOMY AND CURTAILING INEFFICIENCY AND CORRUPTION IN THE BUREAUCRACY; BUSINESSMEN, FOR EXAMPLE, APPLAUD GANDHI'S

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WARNING TO LABOR NOT TO STRIKE.4

OTHERS ARE WAITING TO SEE IF SHE WILL FINALLY TAKE LONG-NEEDED REMEDIAL MEASURES, SUCH AS TAXING AGRICULTURAL INCOMES, WHICH WOULD ALIENATE INFLUENTIAL SUPPORTERS IN THE CONGRESS PARTY. MOREOVER, THERE ARE SIGNS THAT THE EMERGENCY IS PROVIDING POLICE AND OTHER OFFICIALS WITH NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR EXTORTING MONEY AND FAVORS.4

FOR THE MOST PART, GANDHI'S REPRESSIVE MOVES HAVE BEEN PASSIVELY ACCEPTED. MOST INDIANS APPEAR TO BE WAITING TO SEE HOW THE EMERGENCY WILL AFFECT THEM. THE BULK OF THE POPULATION IS SCARCELY AFFECTED AT ALL BY CHANGES IN THE POWER STRUCTURE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL.Y

GANDHI'S RIVALS WITHIN THE CONGRESS PARTY REPORTEDLY ARE UNDER SURVEILLANCE AND HAVE LITTLE CHANCE TO UNSEAT HER AT THIS TIME. DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE PARTY IS BEING RIGOROUSLY ENFORCED BY THE VIRTUALLY UNPRECEDENTED TACTIC OF EXPELLING DISSIDENTS.4

INDIA'S EDUCATED CLASS, WHILE DEPLORING THE SUSPENSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES AND CENSORSHIP OF THE PRESS, IS CONSOLED BY GANDHI'S CARE, THUS FAR, TO OPERATE WITHIN A LOOSE CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK."

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THE ELECTION IN 1971. THE AMENDMENT MAKES LARGELY SUPERFLUOUS THE SUPREME COURT HEARING ON GANDHI'S APPEAL AGAINST HER CONVICTION.4

WHILE THE ACTION IS CONSTITUTIONAL AND THERE IS PRECEDENT FOR RETROACTIVE LEGISLATION IN INDIA, IT WILL NEVERTHELESS EMBITTER THE PRIME MINISTER'S OPPONENTS AND MAY RAISE NEW QUESTIONS AMONG HER POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS COUNTRYMEN REGARDING THE MORALITY OF HER MODE OF OPERATION.4

OVER TIME, POLITICAL DISSIDENTS MAY BE ABLE TO CREATE A POLITICAL UNDERGROUND AND RAISE THE PROSPECT OF SABOTAGE AND ASSASSINATION. MAJOR ECONOMIC SETBACKS WOULD HASTEN THE PROCESS. A FEW WELL-KNOWN POLITICIANS ESCAPED THE DRAGNET IN JUNE AND CONCEIVABLY COULD FURNISH THE REQUISITE LEADERSHIP FOR THE STRUGGLE.4

ONLY A FEW ARE PRIVY TO GANDHI'S THINKING ABOUT THE PRESENT SITUATION. A CABINET-LEVEL COMMITTEE OVERSEES ADMINISTRATION OF EMERGENCY REGULATIONS, BUT THE FACT THAT IT INCLUDES AT LEAST TWO ASPIRANTS TO THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP REDUCES ITS USEFULNESS TO HER.4

GANDHI RELIES INSTEAD ON A NEW INNER CIRCLE THAT INCLUDES HER PRIVATE SECRETARY, THE LEFTIST PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS PARTY, A

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PARTY LEADER FROM BOMBAY, AND HER 28-YEAR-OLD SON, SANJAY.4

SANJAY IS A POLITICAL NOVICE WHO IS ALREADY UNDER A CLOUD AS A RESULT OF ALLEGATIONS OF CORRUPTION IN CONNECTION WITH AN AUTO MANUFACTURING PROJECT. SINCE THE EMERGENCY, SANJAY HAS BEEN ISSUING ORDERS TO HIGH-RANKING BUREAUCRATS AND POLITICIANS AND PLAYS A STRONG ROLE IN ENFORCING COMPLIANCE WITH CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVES.4

SANJAY HAS A PENCHANT FOR BROWBEATING AND REPORTEDLY HAS ALREADY HAD A SERIOUS RUN-IN WITH ONE OF GANDHI'S MOST ABLE ASSISTANTS, S.S. RAY. RAY HAS BEEN RUMORED AS A LIKELY CANDIDATE FOR A SENIOR POST IN AN ANTICIPATED CABINET SHUFFLE.4

GANDHI HAS VERY LIKELY BEEN MAKING DECISIONS ON AN AD HOC BASIS AND HAS NO FIRMLY ESTABLISHED PATH OR TIMETABLE, PREFERRING, AS SHE HAS THROUGH HER NINE AND A HALF YEARS IN OFFICE, TO KEEP HER OPTIONS OPEN AS LONG AS POSSIBLE. SHE DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE STRONG IDEOLOGICAL MOORINGS.4

GANDHI'S PRIMARY OBJECTIVE IS TO INSULATE AND PROTECT HERSELF FROM ANY KIND OF POLITICAL THREAT. BASED ON PAST PERFORMANCE SHE

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FOR SUPREMACY ON THE PERSIAN GULF ISLAND CAN BE EXPECTED WHEN THE
 LEGISLATURE RECONVENES IN OCTOBER.4

MANAMA'S STRATEGY FOR DEALING WITH THE ASSEMBLY WORKED WELL
 DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE LEGISLATIVE YEAR WHICH BEGAN LAST
 OCTOBER. THAT STRATEGY CALLED FOR ISOLATING AND KEEPING OFF BALANCE
 BOTH THE RADICAL LEFTISTS AND THE CONSERVATIVE SHIA MUSLIMS IN THE
 ASSEMBLY, WHILE BUILDING UP A SOLID BODY OF SUPPORTERS AMONG THE
 INDEPENDENT-MINDED CENTRIST DEPUTIES BY SPONSORING PROGRESSIVE
 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LEGISLATION.4

THE EROSION OF CENTRIST SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT BEGAN
 IN JANUARY 1975 DURING DEBATES OVER ECONOMIC POLICY. EXECUTIVE-
 LEGISLATIVE RELATIONS TOOK ON A MUCH HARSHER NOTE IN THE SPRING,
 WHEN CONTROVERSY ERUPTED OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S TOUGH INTERNAL
 SECURITY DECREE. BY MID-1975, THE TWO BRANCHES HAD REACHED AN
 IMPASSE AND AMIR ISA ORDERED THE RECESS OF THE ASSEMBLY. THE
 GOVERNMENT HAS SINCE IMPOSED TOUGH PRESS CENSORSHIP TO PREVENT
 FURTHER PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE LAW-AND-ORDER QUESTION.4

THE GOVERNMENT IS NOW BRACING FOR A RENEWAL OF CONFLICT

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WHEN THE ASSEMBLY BEGINS ITS THIRD SESSION THIS FALL. THE SECURITY DECREE IS STILL UP IN THE AIR. A LONG-PROMISED LABOR LAW REMAINS ON THE AGENDA; LEFTISTS IN BAHRAIN HAVE BEEN TRYING FOR YEARS TO GET A LAW PERMITTING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIONS. THE KHALIFA; GOVERNMENT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY BE CHALLENGED ABOUT INFLATION, WAGES, AND THE INSUFFICIENCY OF PUBLIC SERVICES.

THE BAHRAINI PRIME MINISTER HAS CLAIMED THE 'KHALIFAS DO NOT INTEND TO ABANDON CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES, BUT HE DID EXPRESS UNHAPPINESS ABOUT THE DEPUTIES' UNWILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE IN SOLVING THE COUNTRY'S "REAL PROBLEMS." THERE HAVE BEEN HINTS THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAY DECIDE TO DISSOLVE THE CURRENT ASSEMBLY AND CALL FOR NEW ELECTIONS BEFORE OCTOBER. {CONFIDENTIAL} E-2 IMPDET H

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COORDINATING OFFICERS

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EUROPEAN BRIEF 123-75.4

1. PORTUGAL: PORTUGAL'S RADICAL RULERS ARE BEING CONFRONTED BY AN INCREASINGLY REBELLIOUS POPULACE WHOSE CAUSE IS BEING SUPPORTED BY SOME MILITARY UNITS STATIONED IN THE NORTH.4

PORTUGUESE ARMY UNITS IN THE NORTH OPENLY DEFIED ORDERS FROM LISBON ON THURSDAY TO QUELL ANTI-COMMUNIST DISTURBANCES. ONE PRESS REPORT CLAIMS ARMY UNITS HAVE PRESENTED THE COMMANDER OF THE NORTHERN REGION WITH A PETITION SUPPORTING THE CREATION OF A MULTIPARTY GOVERNMENT. THE MOMENTUM FOR A DIRECT CHALLENGE OF THIS TYPE HAS BEEN BUILDING ALL WEEK. IF IT CONTINUES, THE PRESENT LEADERS OF THE RULING ARMED FORCES MOVEMENT WILL SOON HAVE TO DECIDE HOW TO RESPOND.4

--THEY CAN ACCEDE TO THE DEMAND FOR A MULTIPARTY SOCIALIST STATE. SUCH A CONCESSION WOULD REPRESENT A MAJOR VICTORY FOR THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE LESS RADICAL, PRO-WESTERN FACTION IN THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL.4

--THEY CAN TRY TO IGNORE THESE DEMANDS AND ATTEMPT

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CLASSIFICATION

SECRET NO FOREIGN DISSEM

MESSAGE HANDLING INDICATOR

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☐ INDEX DISSEM BY:
☐ NO INDEX
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NOT YET READY TO GIVE IN TO THIS SENTIMENT. THEY PREDICT THAT THE GOVERNMENT, WHICH IS SCHEDULED TO BE SWORN IN ON FRIDAY, WILL AGAIN BE LED BY VASCO GONCALVES, WITH A CABINET LARGELY MADE UP OF RADICAL OFFICERS, COMMUNISTS, OR COMMUNIST SYMPATHIZERS. THE SOCIALIST AND POPULAR DEMOCRATIC PARTIES REPORTEDLY WILL NOT BE REPRESENTED.

THIS SITUATION COULD CHANGE, HOWEVER, AFTER INTERNAL SECURITY CHIEF CARVALHO AND ARMY CHIEF OF STAFF FABIAO REPORT ON THEIR TOUR OF THE NORTHERN AREA AND PRESENT THEIR VIEWS ON THE HOSTILE MOOD OF THE POPULACE.

THERE ARE, MOREOVER, LATE REPORTS THAT INDICATE THAT THE ANTI-GONCALVES ELEMENTS ARE STILL MAKING AN EFFORT TO HEAD OFF THE INSTALLATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT, WHICH THEY HAVE PUBLICLY DENOUNCED AS "MANIFESTLY INCAPABLE." {CONFIDENTIAL}

2. SPAIN: CIVILIANS STRIVING TO LIBERALIZE THE SPANISH REGIME SUFFERED ANOTHER SETBACK LAST WEEK WHEN THE PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION SCHEDULED FOR THIS FALL WAS POSTPONED UNTIL THE SPRING OF 1976. OFFICIALLY, THE DELAY WAS ATTRIBUTED TO THE BURDEN OF PARLIAMENTARY BUSINESS, BUT THE MOVE SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN

DATE:

ORIG:

UNIT:

EXT:

RELEASING OFFICER

GROUP: NO OFFICERS

ADMINISTRATING OFFICER

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WESTERN HEMISPHERE BRIEF 123-75.4

//PANAMA: : PANAMANIAN GENERAL TORRIJOS, FACED WITH DELAYS IN THE CANAL TREATY NEGOTIATIONS AND WITH WHAT HE CONSIDERS A HARDENED US ATTITUDE, IS SEEKING MORE FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR PANAMA'S CASE. HE IS DEVOTING CONSIDERABLE TIME TO PRESENTING PANAMA'S CASE TO FOREIGN LEADERS.//4

EARLIER LAST MONTH, TORRIJOS SIGNED A JOINT DECLARATION WITH THE PRESIDENTS OF COLOMBIA AND VENEZUELA CALLING FOR THE EARLY TRANSFER OF THE CANAL TO PANAMANIAN JURISDICTION. THE THREE CHIEF EXECUTIVES INTEND TO SEEK US AUTHORIZATION TO RELEASE LETTERS THE PRESIDENTS OF COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, AND VENEZUELA HAD SENT PRESIDENT FORD ON THE CANAL PROBLEMS.//4

//TORRIJOS AND THE TWO PRESIDENTS PROPOSED THAT ALL THE AREA'S CHIEFS OF STATE MEET NEXT YEAR ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE 1826 PANAMA CONFERENCE, PRESUMABLY TO CALL FURTHER ATTENTION TO THE CANAL ISSUE.//4

//THE PANAMANIAN LEADER APPARENTLY FELT THAT PLAYING HOST TO THE RECENT CONFERENCE ON FORMING A LATIN AMERICAN ECONOMIC
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SYSTEM WAS ENOUGH OF A BOOST FOR PANAMA'S PRESTIGE THAT HE DID NOT HAVE TO PRESS THE CANAL PROBLEM AT THAT MEETING. HE ALMOST CERTAINLY WILL, HOWEVER, MAKE A STRONG PITCH FOR THIRD-WORLD SUPPORT AT THE CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, SCHEDULED TO BEGIN IN LIMA ON AUGUST 25.//4

//TORRIJOS HAD BEEN RELUCTANT TO BECOME CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE NONALIGNED COUNTRIES; HE DECIDED AT THE LAST MINUTE NOT TO ATTEND THEIR SUMMIT MEETING IN ALGIERS IN 1973. TORRIJOS IS NOW LIKELY TO BELIEVE THAT THE BENEFITS OF FORMAL MEMBERSHIP IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT OUTWEIGHS THE DRAWBACKS.//4

//TORRIJOS MAY ALSO INITIATE DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND CHINA AND TRAVEL TO CUBA FOR A FIRST MEETING WITH FIDEL CASTRO. THESE INITIATIVES WOULD DEMONSTRATE PANAMA'S "INDEPENDENCE" FROM THE US AND SIGNAL TORRIJOS' IMPATIENCE WITH THE SLOW MOVEMENT OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. (CONFIDENTIAL NO FOREIGN DISSEM)//E-2 IMPDET.4

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EAST ASIA BRIEF 123-75.4

1. NORTH VIETNAM - THAILAND: HANOI'S PARTY DAILY NHAN DAN CARRIED ANOTHER IN A SERIES OF EDITORIALS ON THURSDAY WHICH, OVER THE PAST MONTH, HAVE SHARPLY CRITICIZED THAI FOREIGN POLICY AND HAVE CALLED INTO QUESTION THE SINCERITY OF THE THAI GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE FOR FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THE EDITORIAL COMMEMORATED THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE THAI INSURGENCY AND STRONGLY BACKED THE THAI "PEOPLE'S STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY."

THE NORTH VIETNAMESE OBVIOUSLY ARE SMARTING OVER BANGKOK'S REFUSAL TO RESUME DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS IN HANOI, DELIVERED IN AN UNUSUALLY BLUNT NOTE FROM FOREIGN MINISTER CHATCHAI IN LATE JUNE. IN ADDITION, THEY ARE UNDOUBTEDLY SUSPICIOUS OF BANGKOK'S QUICK ESTABLISHMENT OF FORMAL RELATIONS WITH CHINA.//THE COMMENTARIES ARE PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF THAI RELATIONS WITH THE US, CHARGING BANGKOK WITH CONTINUED "COLLUSION" AND LACK OF SINCERITY IN EFFORTS TO REMOVE US MILITARY FORCES.//4

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HANOI'S BARRAGE BEGAN SHORTLY AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF PRIME MINISTER KHUKRIT'S VISIT TO CHINA ON JULY 6.//THE CRITICAL TONE INCREASED SHARPLY IN MID-JULY WHEN BANGKOK ANNOUNCED THAT THAI NAVAL UNITS WOULD PARTICIPATE IN A SEATO EXERCISE WITH AMERICAN FORCES. ON JULY 31, HANOI'S FOREIGN MINISTRY SHARPLY PROTESTED THE USE BY THE US OF THAI BASES FOR U-2 FLIGHTS OVER INDOCHINA AND PUBLICLY ENDORSED SOUTH VIETNAM'S PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT (PRG) CLAIM TO SHIPS AND PLANES BROUGHT INTO THAILAND AT THE END OF THE WAR. IN ENDORSING THE PRG CLAIMS, HANOI DEPARTED FROM ITS PREVIOUS PRACTICE OF MERELY REPEATING SOUTH VIETNAMESE CLAIMS WITHOUT COMMENT.//4

HANOI'S IRE IS PROBABLY BEING GIVEN ADDED IMPETUS BY THE GROWING REALIZATION THAT ITS NEGOTIATORS MAY HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN BY BANGKOK'S INITIAL OPENNESS AND APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO MEET HANOI DEMANDS. IN EARLY JUNE, HANOI WAS RIDING HIGH ON THE EUPHORIA OF ITS VICTORY IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND PROBABLY ANTICIPATED THAT NEIGHBORING SOUTHEAST ASIAN STATES,

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